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Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3356th Meeting

Thursday, 31 March 1994, 5.15 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Mérimée	(France)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Ricardes
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Chen Jian
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bizimana
	Spain	Mr. Pedauye
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mr. Walker

Agenda

United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to resolution 900 (1994) (S/1994/291 and Corr.1 and Add.1)

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to resolution 871 (1993) (S/1994/300)

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to resolutions 844 (1993), 836 (1993) and 776 (1992) (S/1994/333)

Letter dated 30 March 1994 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/367)

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Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week*, to the Chief, Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178 and incorporated in a copy of the record.

The meeting was called to order at 5.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to resolution 900 (1994) (S/1994/291 and Corr.1 and Add.1)

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to resolution 871 (1993) (S/1994/300)

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to resolutions 844 (1993), 836 (1993) and 776 (1992) (S/1994/333)

Letter dated 30 March 1994 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/367)

The President (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Omar Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Nobilo (Croatia) took a place at the Council table.

The President (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the reports of the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 900 (1994), documents S/1994/291 and Corrigendum 1 and Addendum 1; pursuant to resolution 871 (1993), document S/1994/300; and pursuant to Security Council resolutions 844 (1993), 836 (1993) and 776 (1992), document S/1994/333, as well as the letter dated 30 March 1994 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council, document S/1994/367.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/359, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/1994/302 and S/1994/336, letters dated 15 and 23 March 1994, respectively, from the Permanent Representative of Bulgaria to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1994/305 and Corrigendum 1, letter dated 16 March 1994 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Croatia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; S/1994/328, letter dated 22 March 1994 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Greece to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1994/330, letter dated 22 March 1994 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1994/331, letter dated 23 March 1994 from the President of the Security Council addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/1994/350, letter dated 25 March 1994 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Bizimana (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation would like to thank the Secretary-General for his reports presented pursuant to resolutions 900 (1994), 844 (1993), 836 (1993) and 776 (1992) and for making proposals in connection with settling the conflict in the former Yugoslavia and the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

My delegation salutes the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for the former Yugoslavia, Mr. Yasushi Akashi, for their efforts and thanks those

countries and organizations that are supporting the process of a political settlement of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

I would also like to pay tribute to the personnel of UNPROFOR and of the multilateral and non-governmental agencies whose actions have contributed to improving the terrible situation in that region.

My delegation, which welcomed the adoption of resolution 900 (1994), is particularly happy to note today that the lifting of the siege of Sarajevo is effectively under way and that, thanks to the determination of the international community, the inhabitants of Sarajevo, who lived through daily horror under intensive shelling, no longer feel completely alone and deprived of their right to a normal life. We ardently hope, as is reflected in our firm support for the process of settling this conflict, that this collective effort will be extended to the rest of Bosnia and all of the former Yugoslavia. We therefore welcome the momentum and dynamism generated at the political level by the various initiatives taken as part of the effort to reach a negotiated solution.

In this connection, my delegation congratulates the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Bosnian Croat party on signing the cease-fire agreement. We also welcome the Washington framework agreements between the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Government of the Republic of Croatia and the Bosnian Croat party. We also welcome the results achieved following discussions between the Republic of Croatia and the local Serbian authorities in the United Nations protected areas, which led to the signing on 29 March 1994 of a cease-fire agreement.

We believe that the Security Council must adopt new measures to consolidate all the achievements that have resulted from the firmness of the international community. We also believe it is essential to help the parties concerned to implement the agreements they have just signed.

This new political and diplomatic landscape gives a special dimension to the challenges that must be confronted in order to sustain the process, whose fragility is illustrated by the recent escalation of hostilities by the Bosnian Serbs, particularly against the city of Maglaj. We believe that concern for the safety of the population of Maglaj should result in the Council's granting that city the legal status of a United Nations protected area. My delegation looks forward to the forthcoming report of the Secretary-General on developments in that city, and believes that the Council should not hesitate to declare it a protected area if the situation should grow worse.

The draft resolution that the Council is about to adopt enjoys the firm support of my delegation, which appreciates the fact that its text goes well beyond a simple renewal of UNPROFOR's mandate and takes into account the new parameters resulting from recent developments in the overall conflict in the former Yugoslavia. Although the draft resolution attaches particular importance, and rightly so, to the UNPROFOR operations in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the extension of the mandate applies equally to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). In addition to renewing the mandate of UNPROFOR, our decision focuses on specific steps to restore normal life to Sarajevo and on implementing other initiatives to advance the ongoing peace process in the former Yugoslavia.

There is a great deal at stake here. If UNPROFOR is to carry out its task there must be changes so that it has adequate resources. My delegation fully supports such changes in the light of the Secretary-General's proposals for increasing its personnel.

In order to meet the need for effectiveness in the cause of peace, the draft resolution, which enjoys our support, also extends to the territory of the Republic of Croatia the possibility of close air support for the defence of UNPROFOR personnel carrying out its mandate.

My delegation believes that the draft resolution, if adopted, will send a dual message, with which we are in full agreement, indicating the determination of the international community firmly to support the peace process as well as the need for the parties constantly to continue their efforts to find a just and lasting solution to the conflict.

Mr. Marker (Pakistan): My delegation wishes to convey its deep appreciation to the Secretary General for his three important reports this month, which are contained in documents S/1994/291, S/1994/300 and S/1994/333. All these reports are significant, as they pertain to recent encouraging developments in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia.

The Security Council has acted promptly by taking action to consider the draft resolution, which would, *inter alia*, renew the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

The Pakistan Government attaches great importance to the renewal of the mandate of UNPROFOR in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia and The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. We consider this essential to the international community's efforts to minimize the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, to prevent the spread of hostilities, to provide humanitarian relief and, most important, to facilitate a negotiated solution to all aspects of the conflict. The additional authorization of troops will be extremely useful in making UNPROFOR a stronger force as it shoulders its increased responsibilities.

The Pakistan delegation is most appreciative of the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General and his distinguished Special Representative, Mr. Yasushi Akashi, in resolving the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. Their efforts have led to an improved situation in and around Sarajevo, where the cease-fire is holding and normality is returning. My delegation's special appreciation goes to the men and women of UNPROFOR, and the other United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations involved in the former Yugoslavia, for their dedicated and selfless service in implementing the decision of the internationai community to settle the crisis in a fair and just manner. They have acquitted themselves with distinction in dangerous and difficult circumstances.

The Pakistan Government expresses great satisfaction at the signing of the Washington framework agreement by the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Government of the Republic of Croatia and the Bosnian Croat party. It is the sincere hope of my Government that the Bosnian Serb party will also join in this agreement so that the long-awaited and just peace will be established in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We also welcome the cease-fire agreement reached in Zagreb on 29 March 1994 between the Republic of Croatia and the local Serb authorities on the United Nations Protected Areas.

We also note with satisfaction the Secretary-General's plans for the reopening of Tuzla Airport for humanitarian purposes and for appropriate action to be taken against any party which creates obstacles in the faithful implementation of the Secretary-General's plan.

Another encouraging development is, of course, the appointment by the Secretary-General of a senior civilian official for the restoration of essential public services in and around Sarajevo. In this connection, my delegation also commends the setting up of an Interim Coordination Body which would assist the senior officials in the drawing-up of the plan for the restoration of essential public services in and around Sarajevo.

While these encouraging developments are taking place in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Security Council and the international community should remain vigilant and ensure not only that the excesses committed in violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina are halted but that the wrongs are corrected. The aggression committed against that Government through use of force and the abhorrent practice of "ethnic cleansing" must be permanently reversed.

My delegation remains gravely concerned at the military action still being taken by the Bosnian Serbs in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This constitutes an open defiance of the Security Council's resolutions. The situation resulting from this latest wave of military aggression is particularly visible in the towns of Maglaj and Banjaluka. The recent destruction and desecration of holy places in Banjaluka has been graphically described in the letter of the Bosnian President of 30 March 1994 addressed to the President of the Council *(S/1994/364, annex)*.

Cognizant of the deteriorating security environment in these towns, which have been subjected to strangulation and armed aggression by the Bosnian Serbs, my delegation, along with other members of the Non-Aligned Movement in the Council, strongly favoured the designation of the town of Maglaj as a safe area. This is also supported by the Secretary-General in his report, in which he states that:

> "there may be merit in extending the safe area concept to that city." (*S/1994/291, para. 22*)

To our great regret, this reasonable and urgently needed requirement did not find favour with all members of the Council. Despite this disappointment, my delegation will support the draft resolution before the Council so as to express its solidarity with the Council. We hope not only that the siege of Maglaj will be lifted, but that complete normalcy will return to that beleaguered town.

As my delegation has stated on previous occasions, the tragedy in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina constitutes one of the darkest chapters of contemporary history. The appalling apathy of the international community in responding to aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina has caused great human suffering. The brave and determined people of that beleaguered country have

remained steadfast in their resolve to face aggression and to reject any unjust dispensation under duress. The international community must therefore demonstrate its resolve to arrive at a just and lasting solution to the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina by taking all appropriate measures to reverse the consequences of aggression against that country. The lands seized by the use of force and "ethnic cleansing" must be returned. The sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina must be restored and respected.

Mr. Kovanda (Czech Republic): We are considering today the fifty-fifth resolution on matters related to the former Yugoslavia and we are considering it in an atmosphere very different to that to which we are accustomed. With hindsight, it appears that the world's reaction to the Sarajevo marketplace massacre on 5 February was a turning point in the war. The exhaustion of economic power and manpower, and of willpower to continue the fighting, has undermined the resolve of the belligerents and cooler heads appear to have gained the upper hand. The determination of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to support the peace process has been splendid in its results.

As a consequence, peace is breaking out. First Sarajevo experienced a respite, and how gratifying it was to see United Nations troops soundly beaten there in soccer. Then came the Washington agreements between the Bosniacs and Croats of Bosnia to forge a federation, and between those two communities and the Republic of Croatia to form a confederation.

During these encouraging past few weeks, however, the question that troubled many of us concerned the attitude of the Serbs. Was the January agreement between the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) just a flash in the pan or was it a harbinger of things to come? Now it seems that truly major progress has been accomplished in Croatia with the cease-fire between the Republic of Croatia and the Krajina Serbs. This agreement seems at first blush to be too complicated not to be meant seriously. We can only welcome the earnestness of the parties and their obvious determination. It is appropriate here to acknowledge the remarkable role played by United States and Russian diplomacy, the European Union as well as by the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference and the Special Representative, Mr. Yasushi Akashi.

The rub of peace breaking out is that UNPROFOR is faced with a new situation. Let us recall that this is the largest force that the United Nations is fielding anywhere today. Even so, it has been stretched thin, as the Secretary-General never fails to remind us. It has been stretched thin to do the protection job which is a part of its name. And today it is about to be stretched even thinner as parties call on it to help implement the various cease-fires they are agreeing upon both in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Croatia.

The dynamics of peace is faster than the dynamics of troop authorization, not to speak of troop deployment. The Security Council is facing a novel pitfall: too much peace all at once. We're choking on too much peace. This idea is of course absurd, but my delegation does not understand the position of some countries which have been pushing for a peace agreement, indicating all along that they would be prepared to support it with a major troop deployment. Now, with pieces of peace at hand, they seem to be reluctant.

It is hard to imagine that these countries would have been ready to send thousands of troops if an overall peace were established today. Yet it is equally hard to imagine that these countries anticipated that an overall peace agreement would be reached in one fell swoop, rather than piecemeal, in an arena where even the casual observer detects at least seven distinct adversaries.

With just short of 1,000 men as part of UNPROFOR, the Czech Republic is making its modest contribution to peace in Croatia. Our original infantry battalion is being transformed into a mechanized infantry battalion, one company of which stands ready to be transferred to Bosnia and Herzegovina. We subscribe to the appeal of our resolution that States assist the Secretary-General in finding the resources needed to beef up UNPROFOR. And, by the way, we would also hope that Member States meet their financial obligations in this respect.

Let us salute UNPROFOR and its commanders for the marvellous job they are doing under tough and changing circumstances, pay homage to those who have sacrificed their lives and extend our best wishes for speedy recovery to those who have been injured.

One paragraph of our draft resolution urges the Republic of Croatia and Serb authorities in the regions of Krajina to reactivate their so-called Joint Commission process. The Joint Commission would logically pick up where the cease-fire agreement left off. One logical next

step includes confidence-building measures, in particular attention to communications and infrastructure.

In this context, the Adria pipeline is of especial importance, not only to the economy of Croatia, but to the economies of other countries of the region. Last summer members of the so-called Central European Initiative - then including Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia - made this point in a letter addressed to the President of the Security Council. We are delighted that our draft resolution today reiterates the importance of this pipeline, and even more delighted that the time is more propitious for its possible reopening. War has not touched it, and only political will is needed to have it operational in a couple of days.

My delegation followed with extraordinary interest the debate over declaring the area of Maglaj a safe area. This possibility was foreshadowed in Security Council resolution 900 (1994). In response, the Secretary-General averred that no fewer than 1,500 additional troops would be needed to turn Maglaj into a safe area. Frankly, this came as a surprise to us. Of the safe areas other than Sarajevo, which one is being protected by a force comparable to that wanted for Maglaj? Certainly not Srebrenica, with its 300 men, and certainly not Žepa with perhaps eight. Or, to turn the question around, how many more troops would be needed to give other safe areas the protection that the 1,500 troops would have afforded Maglaj? Experience has shown that declaring an area safe contributes, in and of itself, to its safety, whether or not it is truly safe from the military point of view.

However, my delegation came to realize that certain delegations found it impossible to make the distinction between the military view of what is safe and the political and psychological view of what it means to declare an area safe, and we therefore did not insist that Maglaj be declared a safe area. Moreover, it transpires that this city is no longer besieged and that, on the contrary, Bosnian Government troops have actually been engaged in counter-offensive moves from Maglaj.

On the other hand, my delegation has been distressed by reports, mostly in the press, concerning Banjaluka. This city which, like Sarajevo, used to be a true crossroads of ethnic groups, cultures and religions, has been firmly in the hands of ethnic Serbs for some time now, and "ethnic cleansing" apparently continues unabated there. This was again brought to our attention by President Izetbegovic in letters addressed yesterday to you, Mr. President, and to Mr. Akashi. My delegation cannot but regret that some of the energy the Council devoted to the almost moot issue of Maglaj was not spent on what appears to be an even worse situation - if only because it is taking place outside the spotlight of international attention - in Banjaluka.

This is a good time to recall that "ethnic cleansing", with all its barbaric brutality, has not stopped. As war efforts collapse in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Croatia, the international community will be facing the difficult challenge of deciding how to rectify its abhorrent results. The time for that is not far off.

Mr. Gambari (Nigeria): My delegation, too, would like to thank the Secretary-General for his useful reports dated 11, 16 and 24 March and for his letter of 30 March 1994 on the situation in former Yugoslavia, especially as it relates to the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and the situation in and around Sarajevo and Maglaj. We also wish to thank the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Akashi, UNPROFOR commanders and the Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the former Yugoslavia for the exemplary work they have been undertaking under very difficult circumstances and severe resource constraints to implement the Council's mandate and all its many, many resolutions.

My delegation is happy to join in the consensus on the adoption of the draft resolution before us. We welcome the positive developments towards peace and cessation of hostilities that have taken place in the various theatres of war in the territory of former Yugoslavia. In a sense we can say that the victims of the market-place massacre in Sarajevo on 5 February did not really die in vain. The incident galvanized the international community and, in particular, the major players on the ground, to take bold steps in the search for peace. The momentum in the search for peace thus generated has already resulted in a cease-fire, not only in Sarajevo, but, in the last 48 hours, in the Republic of Croatia and the United Nations Protected Areas. My delegation welcomes this latest cease-fire, and we urge the parties to implement fully all the commitments they have entered into.

It is gratifying to observe that the people of Sarajevo are trying to pick up the pieces and commence once more their efforts towards the restoration of normal life. In this connection we also note with satisfaction the appointment of the senior civilian official to coordinate the restoration of essential public services in and around Sarajevo. These significant and positive developments have been tempered

by pockets of tension and continued hostilities in some areas, particularly Maglaj. While we acknowledge the recent encouraging developments in Maglaj, we are concerned that the situation remains fluid and that it requires further actions to ensure that the people of Maglaj may begin to see some light at the end of the rather tragic tunnel. We urge UNPROFOR to consolidate its initial presence there.

In our view the international community must not be complacent. True peace can be neither established nor sustained until the people of a fellow State Member of the United Nations, Bosnia and Herzegovina, can live within secure borders and be free at last from the threat of the despicable policy of "ethnic cleansing".

What the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and UNPROFOR commanders have asked of this Council is that the necessary authority and resources be made available to them to take maximum advantage of the momentum of peace to consolidate the remarkable gains made on several fronts in recent weeks and, indeed, ensure that those gains are truly irreversible. What the Council is trying to do in the draft resolution before it is to respond as promptly as it can and within its available resources to the requests of the Secretary-General. Unfortunately, we do not seem to have fully accomplished that, at least not for the moment. My delegation understands the difficulties of certain delegations that have created this gap between rising expectations and actual fulfilment. We hope, however, that this gap is a temporary one and that when the Council revisits the issue in a month's time it will be in a position to give the Secretary-General and his field operatives the minimum requirements and the resources needed to carry out the Councils's mandate. We owe them no less.

Finally, my delegation would like to express its profound appreciation to all the Governments that have contributed, and continue to contribute, troops and personnel to UNPROFOR operations. We also call on other Governments to respond to the Secretary-General's request for more troops and more equipment. To the political leaders in the former Republic of Yugoslavia, we say that the prospects for peace have never been better. They must not allow this golden - but potentially fleeting - opportunity to slip away from them.

Mr. Olhaye (Djibouti): Mr. President, my delegation has been aided immensely in its consideration of the multitude of events taking place in Bosnia and Croatia, and in the other areas of the former Yugoslavia, by the excellent, in-depth reports of the Secretary-General and his communications with you. We feel that they have afforded us a firm grasp of the political developments taking place on so many fronts concurrently, and of their implications for the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

We certainly welcome the manner in which peace appears to be breaking out throughout so many areas in Bosnia and Croatia. There seems to have been a general acceptance by all parties of the international community's resolve to bring this terrible tragedy to a close as soon as possible.

With the accord between the Government of Bosnia and the Bosnian Croats for a cease-fire leading to a federation, we have seen the beginning of a spreading peace process which has, if anything, gained momentum. With the establishment of a transition committee, as called for in the Bosnian-Croat agreement of 4 March 1994, the way is now open - and institutionalized - for rapid progress towards achieving federation, which will include a type of confederal association at some stage with the Republic of Croatia.

My delegation also welcomes the continuance of general peace in Sarajevo and the decline in civilian suffering there. It is also good to see the comfort measures the Secretary-General has taken for the city in appointing a Special Coordinator for public services, under the Special Representative, who can coordinate international and local efforts to restore public services to the city. This all adds up to a definite momentum, towards peace and towards a settlement in the area, that will be difficult to reverse.

The pressure being felt in all quarters to move in the direction of peace is indicated by the cease-fire between Croatia and the Bosnian Serbs in the United Nations protected areas that has been signed in Zagreb. There remain, as the draft resolution on UNPROFOR's mandate states, the need for a negotiated settlement accepted by all parties and the need further to involve the Bosnian Serb party in further efforts to achieve an overall negotiated settlement; hopefully, these developments are moving in that direction.

One serious impediment remains: the continued fighting and hostilities in a number of areas in Bosnia - Bihac, Banja Luka and particularly Maglaj, where suffering has been prolonged, unrelieved and intense. My delegation has constantly called for the designation of Maglaj as a "safe area". Addressing this point in his report of 11 March, the Secretary-General notes that the mere presence of UNPROFOR, although limited, was sufficient

to deter major attacks even in Žepa, which contained only eight unarmed military observers. It was enough of a message to all parties about our concern for civilian safety to thwart major assaults, and we feel that this would also hold true in Maglaj. The draft resolution expresses this concern to some extent, and implores the Bosnian Serbs to cease forthwith all military action against the town. We hope that they will have the good sense to do so.

The rapid sequence of accords and settlements has placed a not too unexpected strain on the resources and manpower of UNPROFOR, exacerbated by the fact that it is still functioning below authorized levels. However, my delegation hopes very strongly that the Council can respond quickly and fully to the requirements of the situation, for it is an opportunity we must not miss. There has been a debilitating loss of human life in Bosnia and Croatia, a list of human rights violations unseen in Europe since the days of the last great war and a frightening level of ethnic hostility under the guise of "ethnic cleansing".

The scope that remains for continuing the fighting is being narrowed daily, and we are, it would seem, in a good position to bring this phase to a complete halt. We must demonstrate our resolve to achieve a total cease-fire and to take the necessary steps to prevent a recurrence of any hostilities. My delegation therefore supports the renewal of UNRPOFOR's mandate, as called for in the draft resolution, and the series of other measures it outlines to protect United Nations personnel, increase the comfort level in all areas of Croatia, including the United Nations protected areas, bring about respect for the cease-fires agreed to, increase the safety and security of civilians in "safe" and "near safe" areas, and provide UNPROFOR with the resources and manpower required to implement its mandate.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President *(interpretation from French):* There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 908 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Gomersall (United Kingdom): The resolution reflects real progress in the peace negotiations and on the ground. There is, we believe, a new atmosphere of optimism, albeit cautious, which now needs to be consolidated. The agreements between the Bosnian Government, the Bosnian Croat party and the Government of Croatia on federation are a significant step towards an overall settlement in Bosnia. As the resolution states, we look to the Bosnian Serb party to join in efforts now to achieve a final settlement.

The cease-fire agreements negotiated by the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia have been followed by another, concluded this week in Zagreb between the Republic of Croatia and the local Serb authorities in the United Nations protected areas. These positive developments, to which many dedicated and brave people have contributed, must now be followed up, and matched by a commitment from the parties. Implementation of the confidence-building measures in the United Nations protected areas referred to in the resolution and the revival of the joint-commission process are steps which can and should now be taken quickly, paving the way for a final settlement involving autonomy for the Serbs within the existing borders of the Republic of Croatia.

We wish to pay tribute to the efforts of the United Nations - of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Akashi, and of all the personnel of UNPROFOR - and of the humanitarian and non-governmental organizations, to build on these advances. We welcome the increase in UNPROFOR's strength by a further 3,500 personnel provided for in the resolution, which will allow those additional personnel already available from Member States to be deployed immediately. We also welcome the resolution's authorization of additional personnel for the reopening of Tuzla airport for humanitarian purposes. My Government, with others, has already announced contributions of personnel and equipment for both these tasks. But further reinforcement of UNPROFOR will be needed if the cease-fires in central Bosnia and in Croatia are to be fully implemented. Tasks cannot be added indefinitely without the necessary resources' being made available, and we urge Member States to respond to this urgent need.

My Government would have been prepared to join in authorizing all the additional personnel requested by the Secretary-General in his reports of 11 and 16 March this

year. Within the coming month, the Council will need to act on the balance of these requests. Delay would put at risk not only the success of the United States, the Russian Federation and others in brokering the recent cease-fire agreements, but also the many achievements of UNPROFOR on the ground, and possibly the safety of its personnel.

The civilian population in many parts of Bosnia are just beginning to enjoy the benefits of these new conditions. They need help in rebuilding their towns, and lives. The United Nations is already engaged in vital work, in Sarajevo and elsewhere, to tackle these problems. We warmly welcome the Secretary-General's appointment of a Special Coordinator to harness efforts in Sarajevo to this end. As part of the international effort to restore normal life to Sarajevo, my Government, together with the Government of the United States, dispatched a joint civil mission to Sarajevo to assist in this work. We fully support the establishment of a voluntary trust fund to finance projects to promote the return to normal life in Sarajevo, and we hope that all members of the international community will contribute generously to this work.

The Council's action today shows that the international community is prepared to respond to the new situation reached in negotiations and on the ground. The peace process must now go forward. It will not be easy: there are difficult and sensitive issues still to be addressed, including those involving territory. But these hard-won gains must not now be thrown away, and we call upon all sides to show restraint and to demonstrate their sincerity and responsibility by negotiating a lasting peace.

Mr. Walker (United States of America): My Government has consistently supported, and continues to support, the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), which has been called on to provide vital missions in Bosnia, Croatia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. In recent weeks there have been many encouraging developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and rapidly expanding challenges that have taxed UNPROFOR's resources to the limit. To meet those challenges, we agree with the members of the Council that UNPROFOR must have the necessary resources. The United States Government supports UNPROFOR and the exemplary way it has carried out its mandate, and supports the provision of the resources necessary to allow it to continue to do so in the new environment.

In the context of this resolution, our concern has been to ensure that the financial resources are available to sustain this vital operation. This important question has implications for my Government and, of course, for the United Nations as a whole. I know that we are not alone in trying to come to terms with how we pay for peace-keeping operations.

The resolution says that the Council will review, within one month, the question of UNPROFOR's manpower requirements. I can assure you that, during that month, my Government will be considering this question seriously and urgently. Peace-keeping is too important for the international community not to do its best to regularize the way it provides the money to support these operations.

Finally, I would like to commend the Council's authorization of close air support for UNPROFOR troops operating in the Republic of Croatia. NATO implementation will, of course, require the agreement of the North Atlantic Council, which I am confident will be forthcoming. Once in place, the availability of close air support for UNPROFOR troops in Croatia should afford them important protection as they carry out their part of UNPROFOR's vital mission.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): The quest for lasting peace in the territories of the former Yugoslavia has all too often seemed like a never-ending task. The volume and frequency of the decisions of the Security Council on the matter, and of resolutions, presidential statements and letters, are among the elements bearing witness to that.

After years of untiring efforts by the international community, however, we may well be at the threshold of a new phase in that difficult and complex enterprise. The arrangements in place regarding Sarajevo, where the situation seems to be slowly but steadily improving; the series of agreements signed between the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Bosnian Croat party and the Government of Croatia; and the cease-fire agreement recently signed between the latter and the local Serb authorities in United Nations Protected Areas are all important and concrete steps that give room for a cautious yet genuine measure of hope.

We are aware that much remains to be done, including, as underlined in today's resolution, a further involvement of the Bosnian Serb party in the efforts to achieve an overall negotiated settlement. The humanitarian situation in the town of Maglaj, for instance, continues to be a matter of great concern. But there can be no doubt that the recent developments have been generally positive.

Decisions by the Governments of the United States and the Russian Federation to further their involvement in the diplomatic arena in which the United Nations and the European Union have always been, and continue to be, very active, were instrumental in the attainment of those encouraging results.

The presence of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Croatia, in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has been of crucial importance throughout, not only minimizing the very present risks of deterioration of the situation, but also in facilitating the establishment of an environment more conducive to negotiations.

Often under very difficult circumstances, the men and women of UNPROFOR have displayed courage and determination in the fulfilment of the Force's broad mandate, and have thus played a fundamental role in laying down the foundations for peace, a goal whose achievement depends ultimately on the parties themselves.

After somewhat laborious negotiations, the Security Council has just approved unanimously the extension of UNPROFOR's mandate for a period of six months. It has also decided to authorize immediately a substantial reinforcement of the Force and to take action within a month on the additional troop requirements recommended by the Secretary-General. We welcome those decisions. The Brazilian Government is convinced that the Council must continue to do its share in the difficult pursuit of peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Croatia, and in this sense must stand ready to do all it can to provide UNPROFOR with the means required for the fulfilment of its mandate, as well as to assist the parties in the implementation of peace agreements they have freely arrived at.

Mr. Chen (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): At present, the peace process in the areas where UNPROFOR is located is at a crucial juncture. As a result of the efforts of all sides, the agreements concerning a cease-fire and the withdrawal of heavy weapons between the Bosnian Serbs and Muslims and between the Croats and the Muslims have all been implemented. Not long ago, the Croats and the Muslims signed a federation agreement. Two days ago, the Republic of Croatia and the local Serb authorities in the United Nations Protected Areas signed a cease-fire agreement.

This series of developments is indeed to be welcomed. The approval by the Security Council of a further enlargement of UNPROFOR and an extension of its mandate indicate the hope of the international community that the presence of UNPROFOR will create favourable conditions for an early and comprehensive political settlement by the various parties. In this connection, we agree with the recommendations of the Secretary-General to extend the mandate of UNPROFOR and have voted in favour of the resolution just adopted.

The Chinese delegation would like to reiterate here its position on this question.

First, the parties to the conflict should earnestly implement the agreements already reached and resolve their disputes through negotiations at an early date so as to achieve peace. The sovereignty and territorial integrity of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as other countries concerned in the region, should be fully respected.

Secondly, it is our consistent position that conflicts should be settled by peaceful means through dialogue and negotiation. We are in favour of neither the use or the threat of force, nor the invocation of Chapter VII in the peace-keeping operations of UNPROFOR. We therefore have reservations on the invocation of Chapter VII in this resolution. At the same time, we have noted that the resolution has specified certain limitations concerning this issue.

Thirdly, with regard to the question of extending close air support to the territory of the Republic of Croatia, the Security Council should act prudently. As is repeatedly stated by the Secretary-General's Special Representative for the former Yugoslavia, air support should be used only to ensure the safety of UNPROFOR personnel in the performance of its mandate and for self-defence, rather than for punitive purposes with the use of excessive force. In the concrete application of such air support, the utmost care should be taken to avoid inflicting harm on innocent people.

Fourthly, in the final analysis, the settlement of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia can be achieved only by the people of that region themselves. UNPROFOR can only play a supplementary role. The urgent task of the international community is to make every possible effort to urge the parties concerned to seek, through negotiations, an appropriate solution acceptable to all. The question of Sarajevo and other safe areas as well as that of Maglaj can be genuinely resolved only within the framework of a comprehensive political settlement.

Fifthly, we have noted that the Secretary-General mentioned in his report the difficulties faced by UNPROFOR with regard to manpower and financial resources. These difficulties need to be removed. At the same time, we are of the view that the deployment of UNPROFOR troops should be undertaken in a flexible manner, according to the degree of urgency of each specific situation. Consideration should be given both to the feasibility of new mandates and UNPROFOR's ability to accomplish the missions.

Mr. Ricardes (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The renewal of the mandate of a peace-keeping operation, in this case the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), gives the Security Council an opportunity to assess its functioning and its scope.

A new framework of agreements and a less tense situation on the ground lend a new impetus to efforts to find a peaceful solution to the situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We congratulate the Government of Croatia on the cease-fire agreement signed in Zagreb on 29 March, which is also a move in the direction of a peaceful solution.

In this connection, my country agrees with the recommendation of the Secretary-General on the need to increase the personnel of UNPROFOR so that it can carry out the functions that the changing situation demands.

The decision taken today by the Security Council to increase UNPROFOR's strength by 3,500 should be seen as a temporary measure, taken in the current context of limited material and human resources for peace-keeping operations.

All these circumstances underscore the need to speed up the negotiation of a settlement accepted by all the parties.

As regards support for the collective security system provided for in the United Nations Charter, Argentina has contributed to UNPROFOR a succession of battalions, which are deployed in the territory of the Republic of Croatia.

In addition, in response to the request of the Secretary-General, we recently announced our offer of a contingent of about 150 troops to be deployed in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as a team of meteorologists to help in reopening and operating the Tuzla airport.

We are convinced of the need to guarantee the security of UNPROFOR personnel. We therefore believe it appropriate that the Security Council should today have approved extending air support in defence of UNPROFOR personnel in the territory of the Republic of Croatia.

We would also take this opportunity to reiterate our appeal to the Governments of countries where peace-keeping forces are present regarding the need to carry out publicity campaigns, reaching all levels of their populations, to make known the functions and mandate of those forces, thereby avoiding antagonisms that could harm the image of the peace-keeping forces in the public's mind.

Mr. Sidorov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): The resolution we have just approved has been adopted at a time when the process of a settlement in the former Yugoslavia has reached an extremely critical stage. We have recently witnessed several encouraging events. We have managed to unblock the situation around Sarajevo, and the rotation of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) contingent in Srebrenica has been successfully concluded. Moreover, the Washington agreements have been signed. We welcome this as a substantial link in the whole chain of international efforts to untie the Bosnian knot. On 29 March, with the mediation of Russia, the United States and the representatives of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, the Republic of Croatia and the Serbian authorities in the United Nations protected areas concluded an important cease-fire agreement.

In sum, these events represent movement towards a political settlement, movement which needs not only to be maintained, but to be strengthened. An important role in performing this task must be played by UNPROFOR, whose strong and visible presence in the conflict area is, as pointed out in the resolution, essential to consolidating the progress that has been achieved.

In this connection, we are gratified by the unanimous decision of the Security Council to extend the mandate of the United Nations forces and to reinforce them with additional personnel. While favouring the continuation of the United Nations operation, Russia believes that it should be directed towards the essential purpose for which it was established, paying particular attention to the priority tasks set forth in paragraph 50 of the report of the Secretary-General of 16 March, and taking into account the need to

adopt a rational attitude towards the limited resources available to the United Nations.

We are convinced that the results achieved by UNPROFOR, albeit limited for the time being, have as never before justified the considerable efforts made by the United Nations and Member States in the quest for a political settlement. At the same time, we would like to emphasize that to a decisive extent progress depends on the political will of the parties; the United Nations forces can only assist in establishing peace, which cannot be achieved without active participation by the parties involved. That is why we believe it is extremely important for the resolution to have included an appeal to the parties to seize the opportunity provided by UNPROFOR's continuation to bring the peace process to a successful conclusion.

As the situation has developed in the conflict area, the United Nations has been faced with new tasks. It is our firm belief that at the present time all these should be performed strictly in accordance with, and in the framework of, the existing mandate of UNPROFOR. If, however, it is felt necessary either to amend or expand the mandate, this will require an additional decision to be taken by the Security Council.

The Russian Federation attaches particular importance to matters connected with the safety of United Nations personnel deployed within the States of the former Yugoslavia. We vigorously condemn any attacks or provocations against the personnel of UNPROFOR or of international humanitarian organizations, and demand that they be stopped everywhere.

Close air support has therefore been extended to the territory of Croatia in order to defend UNPROFOR personnel in the performance of their duties. At the same time, I should like to stress that the Russian Federation supports the search for ways and means of achieving maximum cooperation between the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, because we believe that deploying air forces in support of United Nations personnel should be carried out, as indicated in the relevant resolutions:

> "under the authority of the Security Council and subject to close coordination with the Secretary-General and UNPROFOR". (*S/1994/359, para. 8*)

It is now important for States Members of the United Nations to respond promptly to the Security Council's appeal for reinforcements for UNPROFOR. In this connection, I should like to point out that, for its part, Russia has decided to assign 300 additional servicemen to UNPROFOR, 100 of whom have already arrived in Sarajevo as reinforcements for the Russian contingent already deployed there.

In connection with the plan approved today to reopen the Tuzla Airport for humanitarian purposes, Russia is prepared to send civilian observers to help secure the functioning of the Airport and to provide part of the necessary technology and personnel to service it.

The Russian Federation believes that the joint efforts of all States concerned will make it possible duly to strengthen UNPROFOR's potential, which will certainly play a positive role in the progress towards a comprehensive peace settlement in the former Yugoslavia.

Mr. Keating (New Zealand): Renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) gives us the opportunity to evaluate the progress which this very important operation has made since we last renewed the mandate six months ago and to specify the tasks we wish UNPROFOR to perform in the next mandate period.

This Council has agreed that the mandate should be extended for a further six months. My delegation has supported this resolution, but not without some reservations. One of these related to the situation in Maglaj. We would have preferred to see that town designated as a safe area.

Six months ago, the situation in the Republics of Croatia and of Bosnia and Herzegovina seemed to be at a most distressing stalemate. Efforts in both countries to construct political arrangements acceptable to all the parties seemed to be at a dead end. Stagnation in the political process and, in the field, ongoing violence and war seemed the only future.

Today, the outlook is significantly more optimistic. The willingness of the United Nations and the international community to persist with efforts to bring peace to these Republics, despite the unfavourable environment, has begun to yield fruit. There has been a substantial and very significant reduction of conflict in Bosnia. In many areas, and most particularly in Sarajevo, citizens can again begin to resume the routines of daily life, which have been so long interrupted. The Bosnian Government has reached an accord with the Bosnian Croat party, and the federation so created has entered into a confederal arrangement with

Croatia. And in Croatia, the Government of that country and the Krajina Serbs have agreed to a cease-fire with detailed implementation provisions. We very much welcome these developments. We now look to the Bosnian Serb party for similar progress on political and territorial arrangements in Bosnia and for an immediate cessation of "ethnic cleansing" and the destruction of civil and religious objects.

It is worthwhile recalling that this progress flowed from the decision of the United Nations to activate the authority conferred in Security Council resolution 836 (1993) to use airpower in defence of UNPROFOR's mandate. It is the view of my delegation that the appropriate and measured willingness to use force in Bosnia was essential if the fundamental inequities in the situation were to be redressed. In this regard, my delegation supports the decision contained in this resolution to extend close air support to UNPROFOR in Croatia.

My delegation also acknowledges the very valuable efforts which have been made by the Governments of the United States and the Russian Federation, as well as by the European Union, to build a structure of peace on this foundation. These developments have necessarily had an impact on UNPROFOR's role. The Secretary-General has provided us with his estimate of the requirements which will need to be met if UNPROFOR is to be able to discharge all the tasks which these new agreements envisage. New Zealand supports the strengthening of UNPROFOR for these purposes and we are prepared to support authorizing an increase in the establishment of UNPROFOR accordingly.

The United Nations has reached the point at which UNPROFOR must be able to respond positively and with a visible military presence in order to oversee the political and military provisions of these agreements. We must not risk losing the benefits of what has been achieved through an inability or unwillingness to commit ourselves to these additional resources.

It is for this reason that my delegation was concerned to learn yesterday that it was not yet possible to take a decision on the full increase necessary for UNPROFOR. This issue has been before us very plainly for a number of weeks. It was implicit in the earlier decisions of the international community and members of this Council that a significant increment in the resources of UNPROFOR would be required at the time of the renewal of the UNPROFOR mandate. To fail to respond to this challenge is to say to those in Bosnia and Croatia who have pledged themselves to peaceful progress that the price of peace may be too much. What it says to those in the former Yugoslavia who still prefer to advance their objectives by war gives my delegation even greater concern. We certainly hope that the Council will be able to act very soon on the outstanding authorizations which are required.

Ongoing uncertainty places UNPROFOR itself in a very difficult position. It is necessary that we review major operations such as UNPROFOR at regular intervals, but in so doing we should seek to minimize the degree of uncertainty for the operation. UNPROFOR should be able to operate in the reasonable expectation that the Security Council will not set it up only to undermine it at a moment's notice. Uncertainty does not assist responsible and prudent financial management of peace-keeping operations. UNPROFOR deserves better of us and we deserve better of ourselves.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of France.

For several weeks now, we have seen ever more signs of hope for a peaceful solution in the former Yugoslavia. The siege of Sarajevo has been lifted thanks to the resolve of the international community, which seems to have generated encouraging momentum. This event may prove to have been a turning-point.

The Serbian party has come to understand that its policy of force and *fait accompli* was a dead end. Essential players decided to become involved in the search for a political settlement, in particular the United States. The Russian Federation was persuaded to play a decisive role on the ground in Sarajevo and contributed even more actively to the diplomatic process. Although this joint pressure by the international community as a whole was welcome, the European Union, unfortunately, was very much alone for many long months in seeking a solution.

The need for a concerted approach is confirmed by recent achievements: the beginning of a return to normal life in Sarajevo, the reopening of the Tuzla airport, the signing of the Washington agreements and, finally, the cease-fire agreement between Croats and Serbs in the United Nations protected areas. Now more than ever, resolute action by our Council is needed to help this progress.

We therefore welcome the adoption of resolution 908 (1994), which supports the principle behind the

Secretary-General's proposals and also makes it possible for the Secretariat to meet the immediate needs, which he has set at 3,500 men. We are particularly pleased by the latest changes to the text, made this morning, which unambiguously strengthen the Council's commitment to approve later all the reinforcements requested by the Secretary-General for both Bosnia and Croatia. It is now clear that by the end of April the authorized strength of UNPROFOR will increase by 10,050, in accordance with the wishes of the Secretary-General.

Our actions must now proceed in two directions. We must consolidate what has been achieved on the ground, with UNPROFOR backing, wherever necessary, the parties' will to make peace. In this regard, my Government would like to issue a warning: UNPROFOR can never be used to protect territorial gains, just as negotiated disengagements can never be used for military advances.

On the diplomatic level, we shall soon have to resume discussions on what has been the main focus of the negotiations for several months now: after the institutional arrangements come the territorial questions. In this respect, the European Union's plan seems to us to still be the only basis for a possible agreement.

In conclusion, I should like to recall my Government's unwavering commitment to find a solution in the former Yugoslavia, whether through our participation in UNPROFOR or through the role we intend to play within the framework of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.